CHAPTER II.

KRISHṆARĀJA WOḌEYAR I, 1714-1732.

Birth and accession—The ascendency of the Kalale Family—Political affairs: General tendencies—Mysorean advance on Belur, *c.* 1723-1724—Karnatak politics—Mughal attack on Seringapatam, 1724—Maḥratta attack on Seringapatam, 1726—Mysorean advance on Magadi, etc., 1728—Krishnaraja's Rule: General administration—Religion: Sri-Vaishnavism; Religious toleration—Gifts, Grants, etc.—Social life—Literary activity—Ramayanam-Tirumalarya: The *Copper-plate grants*, 1716, 1722 and 1724—Kalale Viraraja: The *Sakala-Vaidya-Samhita-Sararnava*, *c.* 1714-1720; The *Andhra-Vachana-Bharatamu*, 1731—Channaiya: Commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gita* and the *Padmini-Parinaya*, *c.* 1720-1724—Chaluvamba: The *Tulakaveri-Mahatmya*, *c.* 1720; The *Varanandi-Kalyana*, etc., *c.* 1725-1730—Other writers: Balavaidyada-Chaluva: The *Ratna-Sastra* and the *Kannada-Lilavati*, *c.* 1715-1720; Rangaiya: The *Kaveri-Mahatmya*, *c.* 1730—Domestic life: Queens, etc.—Death of Krishnaraja Wodeyar, March 5, 1732—Reflections.

KANṬHĪRAVA-NARASARĀJA Woḍeyar II was succeeded by his son and heir-apparent Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar I, installed on the throne of Mysore on March 3, 1714.[1] He is more familiarly known as Doḍḍa-Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar.[2] A boy of twelve years of age

Birth and accession.

1. *Annals*, I. 159: *Vijaya, Phālguṇa ba.* 13. The *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (II. 57), however, is, as usual, to be understood as merely referring to the formal succession of Krishṇarāja on the day following Kaṇṭhīrava's death, *i.e.*, on February 19, 1714 (*Vijaya, Phālguṇa ba.* 1). But his actual installation does not seem to have taken place till about a fortnight after the latter event in the light of the *Annals*.

2. *Ibid*, I. 158-164; *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 488-489. Wilks spells the name as "Dud Kishen Raj" (I. 248); S. K. Aiyangar refers to him as Doḍḍa-Krishṇa-Rāja "in contradistinction to one of his successors of the same

Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar,I, 1714-1732.

that he was at the time of his accession (*b.* March 18, 1702),[3] the reign of Krishṇarāja, during and after the period of his minority, was marked by the ascendency in the court of Mysore of the Kaḷale Family, to which his own mother, the dowager queen Chaluvājamma, belonged. Among her kinsmen, Chaluvaiya—grandson of Timmarāja Woḍeyar II and son of Krishṇaiya Urs—lately Superintendent of the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Hōbaḷi-Vichāra-Sīme* under Kaṇṭhīrava, not only became the ruler of Kaḷale (1719-1735) in succession to his cousin Mallarāja IV[4] but also rose to the position of *Sarvādhikāri* (chief executive officer) of Krishṇarāja.[5] He was practically the head of the administration of Mysore during *c.* 1714-1724, while Daḷavāi Vīrarājaiya, son of Doḍḍaiya of Kaḷale and the last of the Daḷavāis of Kaṇṭhīrava, also continued to hold the office of Commander-in-chief.[6] The latter is further referred to by a contemporary of his as the establisher of the Kaḷale dynasty and as the sincere well-wisher of the king of Mysore.[7] The interests of Kaḷale in Mysore were further secured by the marriage of the daughters of Chikke Urs, Chaluvaiya and Chikka-Kāntaiya—all members of the Kaḷale Family—to

The ascendency of the Kaḷale Family.

name" (*Ancient India*, p. 305). Inscriptions and literary sources mention him as "Krishṇarāja Waḍeyaraiya," "Krishṇēndra," "Apratima-Krishṇarāja," etc. In one—only one—contemporary record, however, his name occurs as "*Doḍa-Krishṇarāja Waḍeyaraiyanavaru*" (see *E.C.*, II SB. 249 of 1723).

3. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 57: *Chitrabhānu, Chaitra śu.* 1, Wednesday; *Annals*, I. 158; see also Ch. I, f.n. 47.
4. *K. A. V.*, ff. 33; also Table XIII.
5. See *Beḷ. Go. Cha.* (*c.* 1780) of Ananta-Kavi (VI, 87), referring to Chaluvaiya as "*Sarvādhikārada Cheluvaiya*" under Krishṇarāja; also f.n. 10 *infra*. Wilks (I. 252) refers to *Sarvādhikāri* ("Serv Adikar") as an officer who "presided over revenue and finance."
6. *Annals*, I. 159. The period of office of Vīrarājaiya, according to this source, was 10 years, 2 months and 18 days, from the last year of the reign of Kaṇṭhīrava II (February 1714) down to *Krōdhi, Jyēṣṭha ba.* 1 (May 27, 1724).
7. See Channaiya in the *Padminī-Pariṇaya* (III, 297): *Kaḷileya vamśōddhāraka*; *Mahiśūriḷeyāṇmagati hita nenisi.*

Krishṇarāja in 1716 and 1718.[8] In May 1724, Dēvarājaiya, eldest son of Vīrarājaiya by Channājamma (Channamāmbā), succeeded his father as the Daḷavāi of Mysore.[9] About the same time, Nanjarājaiya III (of Beḷḷūr), son of Daḷavāi Kaḷale-Basavarājaiya by Mīnākshamma and cousin of Dēvarājaiya, became the *Sarvādhikāri* in succession to Chaluvaiya, the latter having probably retired to his humble rôle of the chief of Kaḷale during his old age.[10] Throughout the latter part of Krishṇarāja's reign, Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya and Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājaiya conducted the affairs of State, acting ostensibly in accordance with the wishes of their master but really aiming at securing all power for themselves.[11]

Political affairs: General tendencies.

The reign of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar in Mysore synchronised with the period of deepening crisis in South India consequent on the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire under the successors of Aurangzīb—Farruksiyar (1713-1719) and Muhammad Shah (1719-1748).[12] About 1717, four years after the founding of Hyderabad by Nizām-ul-mulk (1713), a process of systematic sub-infeudation of the Mughal Deccan followed. The entire

8. *Annals*, l.c.; see also under *Domestic life* below.
9. *Ibid*; also Tables XI-XIII; cf. S.K. Aiyangar, *o.c.*, p. 306.
10. The exact date of Nanjarājaiya's accession to office is not known from the available sources. It would, however, appear from one authority (*Annals*, I. 162) that he was prominent in Mysore during the latter part of Krishṇarāja's reign. Since Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya himself succeeded his father in May 1724 (*vide* f.n. 6 and 9 *supra*), we would not be far wrong in fixing Nanjarājaiya's accession also almost simultaneously, Chaluvaiya having probably proceeded to Kaḷale on the retirement of Daḷavāi Vīrarājaiya from Mysore. The latest available date for Chaluvaiya in Mysore is 1723 (see *Beḷ. Go. Cha.*, VI, 87, with *E.C.*, II SB. 249; also f.n. 66 *infra*). For details about the genealogy of Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājaiya, *vide* Tables XI and XIII.
11. *Annals*, I. 162; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 251, and S. K. Aiyangar, l.c.
12. *Vide*, for general references on this section, authorities cited in Ch. I. f.n, 17; also G. S. Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, pp. 99, 102, 125-126, etc.

country above and below the *ghāṭs*, known till then as Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālaghāṭ and Pāyanghāṭ, south of Hyderabad, came under his control, with the general designation of Karnāṭak-Hyderabad. The term Bālaghāṭ began hereafter to denote the tracts included both in what originally constituted Bijāpur-Bālaghāṭ and in the newly formed Karnāṭak-Hyderabad-Bālaghāṭ, the latter comprising the large belt of territory possessed respectively by the Paṭhān chief of Cuddapah and by Siddōji-Ghōrpaḍe, nephew of Śāntaji-Ghōrpaḍe, who, profiting from the convulsions of the times, had established a Mahratta power at Gooty. The authority of Sādatullā Khān who till 1717 had retained charge of both the Karnāṭaks, was thereafter confined only to the Nawābship of Arcot in the Pāyanghāṭ. A portion of the Karnāṭak-Hyderabad-Bālaghāṭ was split up into three fiefs (namely, Savaṇūr, Cuddapah and Kurnool), each being placed under a Paṭhān chief designated as Nawāb, subject to the authority of the Nizām. The Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālaghāṭ was likewise placed under a Nawāb directly responsible to the Nizām, with head-quarters at Sīra, Amīn Khān, the former incumbent, being confirmed in the charge.[13] The Nizām was thus fast becoming absolute master of the Deccan, finding in the rise of the Mahratta State under Pēshwa Bālāji Viśvanāth (1714-1720) and Bāji Rao I (1720-1740)—during the nominal rule of Shāhu at Satāra—a contending factor in the situation. While the semi-independent southern states of Madura and Tanjore were struggling for their existence under the disruptive forces of the times, and the English and the French striving for the estab-

13. See and compare *Wilks*, I. 233-235, 248-249. According to him (I. 249), Amīn Khān was appointed to the government of Karnāṭak-Bijāpur at Sīra about 1714. But from a *Fort St. George Despatch* (*Desp. Eng.*, 1711-1714, p. 27, para 32), it is obvious that he was in charge of Sīra already by December 1711. Perhaps by 1714 he had been confirmed as the Nawāb of that *subāh*.

lishment of their commercial interests in South India, considerable confusion prevailed in parts of central and southern Karnāṭak, where the local chiefs (Pāḷegārs) were disunited and trying to assert themselves. The only power of some importance in that region, however, was Ikkēri under Sōmaśēkhara Nāyaka II (1715-1739), son and successor of Hiriya-Basappa Nāyaka I, who was by no means friendly towards Mysore despite the truce of the previous reign.[14] Situated as it was on the outskirts of the sphere of influence of the Nizām and the Mahrattas, Ikkēri was not only a starting-point for the operation of the ambitious schemes of these powers but also became, as ever, a buffer state and a hotbed of intrigue and diplomacy.

Mysorean advance on Bēlūr, *c.* 1723-1724.

Throughout the first part of the reign of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, the kingdom of Mysore enjoyed perfect peace and security. About 1723-1724, however, her attention was directed towards the affairs of Bēlūr. Its chief Venkaṭādri Nāyaka having become insane, Sōmaśēkhara Nāyaka of Ikkēri removed him and set up in his place Gōpāla Nāyaka, brother of Venkaṭādri. At this, the latter's agent conducted negotiations with Mysore, seeking to re-establish Venkaṭādri himself in Bēlūr. A contingent of the Mysore army proceeded thither, but in the meanwhile Sōmaśēkhara Nāyaka, forestalling this move, despatched his forces towards Bēlūr, and, in the action which followed at Aigūr and Koḍlipet, not only succeeded in beating off the Mysore arms but also ensured the accession of Gōpāla Nāyaka.[15]

14. See *Ke. N. V.*, X. 180-181, vv. 33-38, referring to Sōmaśēkhara Nāyaka contemplating hostility against Mysore (in 1717) in combination with the chief of Chitaldrug, the futility of his scheme, etc.

15. *Ke. N. V.*, X. 188, v. 69; also XI. 212-213 (f.n. 1), for details. According to this source, the Mysore army was commanded by a general named Subbarāya of Koṇanūr, and the Ikkēri army by Channavīrappa of Rāya-pāḷya.

This reverse apart, affairs in the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālaghāṭ had been, in the meanwhile, heading towards a crisis. Under the arrangement effected by the Nizām about 1717, the pretended right of the Mughal to levy tribute from Mysore had been transferred from Sādatullā Khān, Nawāb of Arcot, to Amīn Khān, Nawāb of Sīra. Aware of the riches of Mysore, and jealous of the dismemberment of his own command, Sādatullā Khān not only entered into a secret combination with the Paṭhān chiefs of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Savaṇūr, and Siddōji-Ghōrpaḍe of Gooty, to wrest the rich prey from Amīn Khān,[16] but also, it would seem,[17] systematically intrigued against the latter to secure the succession of his own dependent Abdul Nabi Tāhir Khān to the Nawābship of Sīra. Amīn Khān, apprised of the designs of Sādatullā, advantageously allied himself with Mysore and became a source of alarm to the Nizām. Early in 1724, the Nizām, we are told,[18] communicated with Sōmaśēkhara Nāyaka of Ikkēri, desiring him to remove Amīn Khān from the charge of Sīra and establish Tāhir Khān in his place. Sōmaśēkhara Nāyaka despatched the Ikkēri forces under Subādār Rōhile Lingappa of Gangankōṭe, against Sīra. Encamping in the neighbourhood of Kandīkere and Chiknāyakanahaḷḷi in the Mysore territory, Lingappa gave battle to the Mysoreans who had proceeded to the assistance of Amīn Khān. After putting them to rout amidst considerable slaughter in their ranks, Lingappa marched further and invested the

Karnāṭak politics.

16. *Wilks*, I. 249 (with f.n.), relying on the testimony of Budder-u-Zemān Khān, a connection of Sādatullā Khān's family.

17. Wilks (l.c.) speaks of the appointment of Tāhir Khān, as the Nawāb of Sīra, "many years afterwards" (*i.e.*, after Sādatullā Khān's attack on Mysore in 1724), "as the tardy result of Sadatulla Khan's incessant endeavours to recover the government of Sera." But see *Ke. N. V.* and *Desp. Eng.* cited *infra*.

18. *Ke. N. V.*, X. 188-189, vv. 70-71; also 196 (f.n. 1). Mirza Ādam Khān of this source is to be identified with Amīn Khān of other sources.

fort of Sīra. On June 23, 1724 (*Krōdhi, Āshāḍha śu.* 13) he succeeded in reducing it and establishing Tāhir Khān as the Nawāb of Sīra.[19]

Mughal attack on Seringapatam, 1724.

The succession of his dependent Tāhir Khān to the government of Sīra was the prelude to the furthering of Sādatullā Khān's design against Mysore. For this enterprise he appears to have secured the active support of the Nizām also. Indeed a *Fort St. George Despatch*[20] speaks of the latter as having ordered both Sādatullā Khān and Abdul Nabi Tāhir Khān "to attack the king of Misore" [Mysore]. Towards the close of 1724, Sādatullā Khān, with Subādār Lingappa of Ikkēri at the head of the forces of the confederates (*viz.*, Nawābs of Sīra, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Savaṇūr, and Siddōji-Ghōrpaḍe of Gooty), marched on towards Mysore and stood before the gates of the Seringapatam fort.[21] The allies, we learn,[22] at first sustained some reverses

19. *Ibid*, X. 189.

20. *Desp. Eng.* (1719-1727), pp. 112, 116, paras 11, 75: *Despatch* dated February 11, 1725, reporting news of the previous year.

21. *Wilks*, l.c.; also *Ke. N. V.*, l.c. The *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* (34) and the *Annals* (I. 160) also place this event in 1724 (*Krōdhi*). Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *o.c.*, p. 307.

22. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 34-35. According to this source, the confederates, including Dewān Sādullā (Sādatullā) Khān and Siddōji-Ghōrpaḍe, were defeated by Krishṇarāja on the very first day of their siege of Seringapatam, and many in their ranks lost their noses and were slain on the field. They were therefore obliged to raise the siege and retreat in panic. The *Annals* (l.c.), however, refers to the siege only by Siddōji-Ghōrpaḍe on behalf of Sādullā Khān of Arcot, and speaks of the heavy fire from the fort of Seringapatam causing havoc in his army, and of its repulse and pursuit, with loss of noses and ears of the soldiery and of valuables in the camp, etc. With slight differences, the two authorities are agreed that the confederate army at first sustained some reverses during the siege of 1724. This victory of Krishṇarāja is also echoed in an interpolation of the *Kaḷale Copper-plate grant* (1716) thus: *Siddōji pramukha Mahārāṣṭra-nṛpāla jāla ripu jayaika līla* . . . (see *E.C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295, p. 152, prose passage). For a detailed notice of the record, see under *Gifts, grants, etc.*, and *Literary activity* below. Compare S. K. Aiyangar, *o.c.*, pp. 306-307. His assertion that "the elaborate copper-plate grants which dwell at great length on the other virtues of Krishṇarāja make no mention of any such victory," etc., is hardly warranted by an examination of all the available records

owing to the heavy cannonade from the bastions of the fort. However, they persisted and soon proved a formidable combination for the Mysore arms to cope with. The officers at Seringapatam accordingly found it expedient to buy off the confederacy and save the situation. A crore of rupees, it is said,[23] was the amount stipulated by Sādatullā Khān who, having distributed sixty lakhs (at twelve each) among the confederates, appropriated the rest for himself and retired from Seringapatam. The *Keḷadi-Nripa Vijayam*[24] merely alludes to Mysore as having bought off the enemy for a heavy price, including cash and jewels. A *Fort St. George Despatch*[25] likewise speaks of "the king of Misore" as having "paid great sums to compound the war" and of Abdul Nabi Tāhir Khān and Sādatullā Khān as having been subsequently "forced to pay much [to the Nizām] for arrears of tribute and keeping their places, which made them extort moneys from all the trading people under them . . . ," thereby prejudicing "the country's trade."

Mahratta attack on Seringapatam, 1726.

No sooner was one trouble overcome than another presented itself. In 1726 (*Parābhava*), Pēshwa Bāji Rao I, with a view ostensibly to reassert the Mahratta power over the south, proceeded on an expedition into the Karnāṭak, with a large army under Futte Singh Bhōnsle.[26] After raising his exactions from Ikkēri,[27] he

of Krishṇarāja, while his identification of Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya, composer of this record and of Sr. 64 (1722) and 100 (1724), with the minister Tirumalaiyangār "who must at least have lived up to 1729," is incorrect. For particulars about Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya, see Vol. I, Ch. XIV of this work.

23. *Wilks*. I. 250.

24. X. 189, v. 71. This work even credits Subādār Rōhile-Lingappa with having been duly honoured with presents by the Nizām ("Chiklis Khān") for the successful termination of the war against Seringapatam.

25. *Desp. Eng.* (1719-1727), p. 135, paras 104 and 105: *Despatch* dated January 26, 1727, reporting the events of 1724-1727.

26. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 35; *Annals*, I. 160.

27. *Ke. N. V.*, X. 190-191, vv. 79-80.

eventually appeared before Seringapatam demanding a contribution. In the action which followed, however, Bāji Rao, we are told,[28] found himself outmanœuvred by the heavy firing from the magazines of the fort, and, sustaining considerable loss of men in his army, retreated from the place in dismay, with the remark that it was a sheer impossibility for sword-fighters like the Mahrattas to withstand the matchlockmen of Seringapatam which appeared to him to be nothing short of a "city of cannons" (*firangi-paṭṭaṇa*.)

Mysorean advance on Māgaḍi, etc., 1728.

Two years later, Mummaḍi Kempa-Vīrappa-Gauḍa of Māgaḍi (Kempe-Gauḍa IV, 1705-1728) began to show signs of hostility towards Mysore. On October 12, 1728 (*Kīlaka, Āśvīja ba.* 5), Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya successfully blockaded the fort of Māgaḍi, compelling the chief to surrender.[29] The hill-fort of Sāvan-durga—with the accumulated treasures of ages—was next reduced.[30]

28. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, l.c., *Annals*, l.c.; cf. Wilks (I. 250) speaking of Bāji Rao as levying at the gates of Seringapatam, in 1726, "a contribution, the amount of which is not stated"; also S. K. Aiyangar (*o.c.*, p. 307) referring to the Pēshwa as having been "bought off by Krishṇa Rāja." Grant Duff, however, writes: "No particulars of this campaign have been discovered; but it appears by a letter written twelve or thirteen years afterwards by Bajee Rao to his brother that they [the Mahrattas] *lost a number of men without gaining advantages which had been anticipated* . . . From his former sentiments and these symptoms of disapprobation expressed in the letter alluded to, it may be inferred that Baji Rao had objected to the expedition, but upon his return to Satara he found more serious reasons of dissatisfaction in the measures pursued by the Pratinidhi . . ." (*History of the Marathas*, I. 367) [Italics ours]. G. S. Sardesai (*o.c.*, p. 114) refers incidentally to Bāji Rao I's incursion into the Karnāṭak, 1725-1726.

29. *Ibid*, 35-36; *Annals*, l.c.; also *Śiva-Gīte*, I, 12; *Kakudgiri-Māhātmya*, I, 7; *Śivabhakta-Vilāsa-Darpaṇa*, I, 11 [for accounts of these works, *vide* Ch. XII]; *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 58 (1741); *M. A. R.*, 1923, No. 58 (1744); *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 68 (1749)—referring to Dēvarājaiya's subjugation and annexation of Miḍagēśi, Māgaḍi and Sāvan-durga (Sāvandi) as the Daḷavāi of Krishṇarāja I. An inscription from the *Mackenzie Collection* (Ms. No. 18-15-20, p. 65) refers to the grant of the village of Bukka-sāgara to the temple of Ranganātha of Seringapatam by Dēvarājaiya on the conquest of Māgaḍi. See also and compare *Wilks*, I. 250-251.

30. *Wilks*, I. 251; also literary and inscriptional references cited above.

The principality of Māgaḍi, with its dependencies, was absorbed in the kingdom of Mysore; Kempa-Vīrappa was with his family taken prisoner and sent to Seringapatam where he ended his last days in the state prison.[31] Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya proceeded as far as Ratnagiri and Salem, securing the allegiance of the chiefs of those places.[32] These activities tended to replenish the treasury at Seringapatam, drained as it had been during 1724 and 1726.[33]

Krishṇarāja's Rule: General administration.

Inscriptions and other sources point to Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar as a young ruler seated on the jewelled throne in Seringapatam (*ratna-simhāsanārūḍharāgi*).[34] In some of his records he refers to himself as *Karnāṭaka-Chakravarti*, and to his right to the possession of the kingdom and throne of the Karnāṭaka country (*svakīya Karnāṭaka-rājya; Karnāṭa simhāsana*).[35] Evidently he retained the claims of his predecessors to the sovereignty of the Karnāṭak. The administration was conducted along traditional lines, though all power was being actually wielded by the Councillors (*sāmājikar*) including the *Sarvādhikāri* and the *Daḷavāi*. Among the officers of the reign, Subbā-Paṇḍit was a *Pradhān*;[36] Venkaṭapataiya was a junior accountant in the treasury (*bokkasadaliha puṭṭa-karaṇika*);[37] Channaiya was in charge of the household of Daḷavāi Vīrarājaiya (*sēnādhīśa-gṛhādhyaksha*);[38]

31. *Ibid*; also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 36.
32. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, l.c.; *Annals*, l.c. 33. *Wilks*, I. 250.
34. See references cited under *Gifts, grants, etc.*, and *Literary activity* below.
35. *B.C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295 (1716), vv. 6, 81, and p. 152 (prose passage); III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 172-173 and 692.
36. *Ibid*, Sr. 200 (*c.* 1720); also referred to in *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 141 (1734), from which it would appear that he continued to make grants during Chāmarāja's reign (1732-1734), though he was not then actually in office.
37. *Ratna-Śāstra*, VI, 11. This Venkaṭapataiya seems to have been quite distinct from Pradhān Venkaṭapataiya of Krishṇarāja II's reign.
38. *Padmini-Pariṇaya*, I, 42.

Apramēya-Hebbāruva and Krishṇaiya were *Pārupatyagārs* of the *Dēvasthāna-Sīme*, and Gōpālarājaiya was Superintendent of the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Hōbaḷi-Vichāra-Sīme*.[39] The administrative institutions, revenue rules and regulations of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar remained practically unchanged. Among the additions said to have been made during the reign of Krishṇarāja were the institution of two more departments for collecting tax on cattle (*Bāla-terige-Chāvaḍi*) and presents and benevolences (*Kāṇike-Chāvaḍi*), and the ordering of a survey of all the temple lands to effect an equitable distribution of the bounties of the government.[40]

Religion: Śrī-Vaishṇavism.

The popularity of Śrī-Vaishṇavism as the religion of the Mysore Royal House reached its zenith during this reign. Krishṇarāja was as staunch a Śrī-Vaishṇava by faith and profession as his grandfather Chikkadēvarāja

39. *M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 58, para 129; 1910-1911, p. 55, para 132.

40. See Capt. Read in *Bārāmahal Records* (1792), I. 139-140, para 11. Read refers to these terms as *Balagour Chavadi* ("for collecting a tax upon horned cattle") and *Canky Chavadi* ("for assessing all the *atavany* and *kandachar* lands a third or fourth part of their produce on account of their having considerably improved since given in grant"). The reference here is obviously to *Bāla-terige* and *Kāṇike*, terms which occur in the records of Krishṇarāja I's reign [see *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295 (1716) and 296 (1720), pp. 151-153 (l. 23); III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), l. 674, and 100 (1724), l. 165]. R. Narasimhachar interprets *Bāla-terige* as "taxes on children" (*M. A. R.*, 1914-1915, p. 64, para 110), and Dr. R. Shama Sastri as "taxes on animals with tails" (*Ibid*, 1923, No. 6, pp. 41-44). Although we are not in a position to know the exact nature of this tax, there are two circumstances in support of the position that it was levied on tailed animals, *i.e.*, on cattle, as distinguished from sheep and goats (*kuri-terige*, *āḍu-terige*): one is the precedent set up by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, namely, levying of a tax on cattle sold (*danakaru-māriddakke-sunka*); the other is the survival of the custom of collecting a fee on cattle during fairs in the local parts of Mysore. *Bāla-terige* appears thus to have been synonymous with, or a shortened form of, *danakaru-māriddakke-sunka* (*vide* article entitled *Two Centuries of Woḍeyar Rule in Mysore*, in the *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 471-472, f.n. 122). The *Bāla-terige-Chāvaḍi* continued to be an active department in Mysore even during Haidar's regime, 1761-1782 (see *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 93). *Kāṇike* generally means presents and benevolences which may include also an additional levy on scheduled tax as suggested by Read's explanation.

Woḍeyar.[41] He was ever devoted not only to his family God Nārāyaṇa of Mēlkōṭe[42] but also to the Vaishṇava deities at Seringapatam, Kaḷale, Tirupati and Kānchi.[43] A disciple as he was of Śrīnivāsa-Yatīndra, the *Parakāla-Guru*,[44] he is said to have invited him from Tirupati to the capital city and accepted from him the credentials of Śrī-Vaishṇavism.[45] As a true Bhāgavata, he used strictly to observe fasting and breaking the fast.[46] One of his queen-consorts, Chaluvāmbā (Chaluvājamma), was, we learn, likewise an ardent Vaishṇavite, devoted to Gods Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇa and Venkaṭēśa (of Tirupati), and to the *Parakāla-Guru*.[47] Inscriptions, again, refer to Krishṇarāja as the establisher of the Śrī-Vaishṇava faith (*Śrī-Vaishṇavamata-pratiṣṭhāpaka*) and the chief king of the Śrī-Vaishṇavas (*Śrī-Vaishṇava nṛpāgraṇīḥ*).[48] Of the Śrī-Vaishṇavas he was evidently a friend and favourite. Yet he was tolerant of other sects and creeds flourishing in the kingdom. Indeed a lithic record[49] refers to him as having been a skilful means for protecting the six *darśanas* (or schools) of philosophy (*shaḍdarśana*

Religious toleration.

41. See *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295, vv. 73-75; III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 143-147, and 100, ll. 61-62. These passages are similar in point of style and subject-matter to those in the records of Chikkadēvarāja [*i.e.*, *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, etc.], which is significant.
42. *Ibid*, III (1) Sr. 64, l. 149; also 100, l. 68: *Yādavāchalapatēḥ kulanāyakasya Nārāyaṇasya*; also see under *Gifts, grants, etc.*, below.
43. *Vide* references under *Gifts, grants, etc.*
44. *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 162, 694-695: *Śrīnivāsa-Yatīndrasya kṛpayā pari puṣṭayā*; *Śrīnivāsa paramahamsa parivrājaka pravarāṅghri sarasīruha-sāndra makaranda rasāsvāda samvardhita bhringarājanum.*
45. *Annals*, I. 163. This must have been in or about 1722, in the light of Sr. 64 (1722) referring to the *Guru* as above.
46. *Ibid*; also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 86.
47. See her own work, *Varanandī-Kalyāṇa*, I, ļ, VII, 141-143. For details about this production, *vide* under *Literary activity* below.
48. *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295, p. 152 (prose passage); III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 198, 692-693; also ll. 162-163—referring to Krishṇarāja as shining with the prosperity of the Śrī-Vaishṇavas (*Śrī-Vāishṇava śriyā Krishṇarājēndrōti virājatē*).
49. *Ibid*, II SB. 249 (1723).

samrakshaṇa vichakshaṇōpāya). His grants were made to all the three sects of Brāhmans—Smārthas, Mādhvas and Śrī-Vaishṇavas—while he was equally solicitous towards Śaivism and Jainism.[50]

Gifts, grants, etc.

Numerous were the gifts made by Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar alike to institutions and individuals in and outside the State. Services in the Vaishṇava temples engaged his constant care and attention. In particular, it is interesting to learn, he presented a silver pot to the temple of Nārāyaṇasvāmi at Mēlkōṭe,[51] a gold ornament to the Channakēśavasvāmi temple at Bēlūr,[52] and a gold-plated umbrella, two silver vessels and a silver-plated elephant *vāhanam* to the temple at Tirupati.[53] He also caused to be made for the principal shrine (of Śrī-Nārāyaṇasvāmi) at Mēlkōṭe a crown set with precious stones (*navaratna-kirīṭa*), and for Saṃpatkumāra, the processional image of the God, a jewelled coat (*ratna-kanchukam*).[54] At Kaḷale, we further learn, he got the temple of Lakshmīkāntasvāmi repaired, with addition of *vimāna*, *maṇṭapa*, *prākāra* and *gōpura*; endowed it with vehicles, ornaments and a pretty and durable car (*ratha*), and, for the performance of daily services to the God, settled learned and deserving Vēdic scholars in the newly formed and

50. *Vide* references under *Gifts, grants, etc.*, below; cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *o.c.*, p. 305. We have also an interesting reference to an alleged obstruction to the *Jainōtsavam* in the Hāssan street of Śravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa, caused by the Vīra-Śaivas, to the king's (? Krishṇarāja's) holding a judicial enquiry into the matter at Seringapatam on the representation of one Puṭṭaiya (a relation of Aṇṇaiya, a well known Jain who had been formerly mint-master of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar), and to the dispute being settled by him (the king) in favour of the Jains, etc. (see *Bel. Go. Cha.* of Ananta-Kavi, VI, 133-134).

51. *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr., 291.

52. *M.A.R.*, 1910-1911, p. 55, para 132.

53. *Ibid*, 1908, p. 5, para 21. The inscription on the *vāhanam* is dated *ś.* 1648 (1726). See also *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 693-694, referring to Krishṇarāja as a devotee serving at the feet of the Presiding Deity of Tirupati (*Śrī-Vēnkaṭāchala nivāsa Śrīnivāsa charaṇāravinda karuṇāvidhāyaka kainkarya dhaurēyanum*).

54. *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 149-150; also 100, ll. 68-70.

well-furnished *Kaḷale agrahāra*, also named *Apratima-Krishṇarāja-samudra*.[55] He is also credited[56] with having got constructed *maṇṭapas* near the pond at Mēlkōṭe both in his name and in the name of his mother Chaluvājamma, and with having given away seven villages in the Paramatti-sīme, yielding 600 *Kaṇṭhīrāyi varahas*, for the conduct of daily and periodical services in the Venkaṭaramaṇasvāmi temple at Tirupati. Among the extant records of the reign (most of which, especially the copper-plate grants, bear the king's signature, *Śrī-Krishṇarājaḥ*) the *Kaḷale copper-plate charter*, dated April 1, 1716,[57] records the grant by Krishṇarāja of 43 *vrittis* in Kasavinahaḷḷi, Sūranahaḷḷi and other villages, for the maintenance of Vēdic scholars of three sects settled in the newly formed *Kaḷale agrahāra* (*Apratima-Krishṇarāja-samudra*), above referred to. A *nirūpa* of Krishṇarāja, dated in 1717 and addressed to Kaḷale Mallarājaiya,[58] directs him to employ ten paid servants, on a salary of four *varahas* each, for guarding the Lakshmīkāntasvāmi temple at Kaḷale. A lithic record, dated May 14, 1717,[59] registers a grant by Krishṇarāja of 3,600 *varahas*—being the income from twelve villages in the Vīrabhadra-durga-sīme—for the expenses of conducting a service to Gōd Kānchi-Varadarāja through the agency of Aḷagiya-Manavāḷa-Rāmānuja-Jīyar. Another, dated in 1718,[60]

55. *Ibid*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295, pp. 147-148. Cf. *Annals*, I. 161.
56. *Annals*, I. 161-162.
57. *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295 (*M.A.R.*, 1910-1911, pp. 55-56, paras 132-133): *Durmukhi*, *Chaitra ba.* 5, Sunday. Of the six villages referred to in the record, three were granted in 1716, on the occasion of the king's marriage with the Kaḷale Princess-(Dēvājamma, daughter of Chikke Urs), and the remaining three on a subsequent occasion, *i.e.*, on the birth of a son to him (see p. 151). For further particulars about the grant, see under *Literary activity—Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya*. Cf. *Annals*, I. 161.
58. *M.A.R.*, 1914-1915, p. 64, para 109.
59. *M.E.R.*, 1928, No. 233: *ś.* 1639, *Hēviḷambi*, *Adhika Jyēṣṭha śu.* 15 (a record from Papparappatti, Dharmapuri taluk—on a slab set up in front of the Varadarāja-Perumāḷ temple).
60. *I. M. P.*, II. 1216, Sa. 113: *ś.* 1640. See also *Ibid*, 1221, for another lithic record—a damaged one—of Krishṇarāja from Salem (No. 142), datable between 1719-1728.

refers to Krishṇarāja as having got built the temple of God Gōpāla at Taḷi in Salem district. A *nirūpa* of Krishṇarāja, dated in 1719,[61] refers to the grant of Tūbinakere in Amritūr-sthaḷa as a *sarvamānya* (rent-free) to Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya, son of Kanchi Tātāchārya. Another, dated in 1720 and addressed to Chaluvaiya of Kaḷale,[62] directs him to allow the lands of the local Lakshmīkāntasvāmi temple to be irrigated from the *Krishṇarāja-sāgara* tank newly built by him. A copper-plate charter, dated November 3, 1720,[63] registers the grant by Krishṇarāja, on the application of Dāsarājaiya of Biḷuguli, of the village of Gōṭikere—otherwise named Narasimhapura—in Suragiri-sīme, for the offerings and services of God Lakshmī-Narasimha of Suragiri-durga (Dēvarāya-durga). A *nirūpa* of Krishṇarāja, dated in 1722,[64] refers to the purchase of Kempana-pura by Chaluvaiya and the grant of the same to the Kaḷale temple. The *Toṇḍanūr Copper-plate grant*, dated December 11, 1722,[65] records the formation by Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, on the occasion of lunar eclipse, of two *agrahāras* of well-furnished houses (around the temples of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa and Yādava-Nārāyaṇa-Vasanta-Gōpāla of Toṇḍanūr, south of Mēlkōṭe), named *Yādavapuri-Toṇḍanūr* and *Chalva-dēvāmbudhi* (the latter after his mother Chaluvājamma), and the settlement therein of Vēdic scholars (of the three sects of Brāhmans) with 112 *vrittis* distributed among them. A lithic record, dated November 14, 1723,[66] registers a visit of Krishṇarāja to Śravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa

61. *M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 58, para 129. 62. *Ibid*, 1910-1911, p. 55, para 132.
63. *E.C.*, XII Tm. 47: *ś.* 1642, *Śārvari*, *Kārtika su.* 15, Thursday.
64. *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, p. 55, para 132.
65. *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64: *ś.* 1644, *Śubhakrit*, *Mārgaśira su.* 15, Tuesday. For further particulars about the record, see under *Literary activity—Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya*. Cf. *Annals*, I. 161-162.
66. *Ibid*, II SB. 249: *ś.* 1621, *Śōbhakrit*, *Kārtika ba.* 13, Thursday. *Ś.* 1621 here is an error for *ś.* 1645 (*Śōbhakrit*). The *Beḷ. Gō. Cha.* of Ananta-Kavi (VI, 38-90) also contains an account of the visit to Śravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa of Krishṇarāja, on the occasion of the completion of the pond (known as

and his grant of some villages as rent-free, for the *Jina-dharma* of the place and for the worship and festivals of Gōmaṭēśvara (*Gummaṭasvāmi*), as well as the village of Kabāḷe (Kabbāḷu), for the upkeep of the feeding house situated near the *Chikkadēvarāja-kalyāṇi* (pond). A *nirūpa* of Krishṇarāja, dated in 1724,[67] relates to the grant of a village of the revenue value of 200 *varahas* in the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Hōbaḷi-Vichāra-Sīme* to the Lakshmīkāntasvāmi temple at Kaḷale. A copper-plate charter from the Kanchi-maṭha at Toṇḍanūr, dated December 30, 1724,[68] alludes to the visit to Seringapatam of a Śrī-Vaishṇava scholar by name Rāmānuja-Yati-Saumya-Jāmātri from Kānchi, and records how Krishṇarāja, having heard from him the glory of Hastigiri (Kānchi), not only confirmed the gifts of his father Kaṇṭhīrava and of his mother and grandmother (Chaluvājamma and Dēvīramma) to God Varadarāja (the Presiding Deity of the place), but also made his own grants for offerings to the shrine at the three seasons and the *Vaiśākha* festival, and for the provision of *maṇṭapas*, groves, ponds, etc., together with twelve villages in the neighbourhood of Vīrabhadra-durga in the Karimangala country. Another, belonging to about 1725,[69] relates to the formation by Krishṇarāja of an *agrahāra* for the Brāhmans south of the Kapilā river, and the bestowal of gifts on them severally, to provide for the worship of Śrīkaṇṭhēśvara at Nanjangūḍ.

Chikkadēvarāja-kalyāṇi) by Aṇṇaiya. It speaks of the king as having made to the latter (Aṇṇaiya) a rent-free grant of the village of Kabbāḷu yielding 1,000 *varahas* (*sāvira varahada svāstya*), for the upkeep of a feeding house for the Jains. During the visit, Krishṇarāja, we are told, was accompanied by Sarvādhikāri Chaluvaiya, Daḷavāi (?) Dēvaiya and Doḍḍamma (Dēvīramma, grandmother of Krishṇarāja) and other ladies of the Royal household.

67. *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, p. 55, para 132.

68. *E.C.*, III (1) Sr, 100: *s.* 1646, *Krōdhi*, *Pushya ba.* 11, Wednesday. For further particulars about the record, see under *Literary activity—Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya.*

69. *Ibid*, TN. 61. This record is undated. A considerable portion of it is found to contain passages from Sr. 14, 64, 100, etc.

Social life.

The capital city of Seringapatam, during the reign of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, was at the height of its glory and prosperity. Its wealth was proverbial. Despite external troubles arising from the disruptive tendencies of the times, social solidarity was preserved intact, and peace and security prevailed in the kingdom which was teeming with large, fertile and populous villages watered by tanks, ponds and other water-courses. Mēlkōṭe, Toṇḍanūr and Kaḷale were among the flourishing centres of cultural activities and resorts of scholars learned in Vēdas, Śāstras, Śrauta and Smārta ritualism, Vēdānta and Drāviḍa-Prabandha; Toṇḍanūr, in particular, seems to have been also the pontifical seat of Śrīnivāsa-Yatīndra, the *Parakāla-Guru* and preceptor of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar.[70] A number of sale deeds and other records of the reign evidence the liberal outlook of the king and the subjects in matters affecting social and religious well-being.[71]

Literary activity.

Literature and learning—sacred and secular—flourished under Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar. Of him, we glean a picture as a person of taste and culture, frequented by the learned and taking a keen interest in the appreciation of music and literature.[72] The influence of Śrī-Vaishṇavism and the tendency to write works in simpler style for popular edification, continued in the main to dominate

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70. See texts of *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64 and 100, and *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295, for details; also f.n. 44, 55, 57, 65 and 68 *supra*.

71. See, for instances, *I. M. P.*, II. 1208, Sa. 54 (1714); *E.C.*, V (1) and (2) Bl. 29 (1717); *Salem D st. Manual*, II. 137-140 (1717); *E.C.*, XII Tm. 46 (1719) and 48 (1720); *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, p. 55, para 132 (1720); *E.C.*, IV (2) Kr. 30 (1722); III (1) TN. 59 (1725), IX Kn. 19 (1726), etc. The last mentioned record, a lithic one, refers to the reigning king as *Chāmarāja Waḍēraiya*, an error for *Krishṇarāja Waḍēraiya*.

72. See *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295, v. 5; III (1) Sr. 64, l. 103; *Tulākāvērī-Māhātmya* (of Chaluvāmbā), ff. 1 (prose passage), etc. The expressions *vibudha sēvitam*, *vividha vibudhān paritrāyan*, *nikhila vibudha jēgīyamāna*, *vidvadgariṣṭha*, etc., applied to Krishṇarāja in these sources, are significant. See also *Annals*, I. 162.

the literary activity of the times. Haḷagannaḍa was being fast displaced by Hosagannaḍa as the medium of expression, particularly in prose.

Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya.

By far the most important writer of the reign was the famous Śrī-Vaishṇava scholar Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya—a former contemporary of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar—whose attainments and earlier works we have elsewhere referred to.[73] He composed the *Kaḷale Copper-plate grant* (1716), *Toṇḍanūr Copper-plate grant* and the *Kanchi-maṭha Copper-plate grant* (1724) of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, the second one, in fifteen plates, being perhaps the longest record extant of the rulers of the Mysore Woḍeyar Dynasty.[74] These documents, as we have noticed, relate to the grant of *agrahāras* and villages by Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar. They are written in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa, poetry and prose; and are closely modelled on the *Seringapatam Temple Copper-plate grant* (1686) and the *Dēvanagara Copper-plate grant* (*c.* 1686-1690) of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. They usually begin with an elaborate poetical account of the traditional origin of the Ruling House of Mysore and of the succession, achievements, etc., of the rulers of the Dynasty down to Krishṇarāja. Then follow details connected with the grants and the donees, this portion containing also prose passages in Kannaḍa. The poetical portion of each inscription is written in the high-flown *kāvya* style and embodies verses, most of them being evidently borrowals from earlier copper-plate grants (such as Seringapatam 14) and some being Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya's own. In the case of the Toṇḍanūr record, however, it is found to contain verses borrowed both from the works of Tirumalārya, Prime Minister of

The *Copper-plate grants* 1716, 1722 and 1724.

73. *Ante*, Vol. I, Ch. XIV.
74. *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295, and III (1) Sr. 64 and 100.

Chikkādēvarāja and from those ascribed to the latter.[75] In two of these documents, the tendency to interpolate is also noticeable. Thus, the Kaḷale grant speaks of a gift made subsequent to 1716,[76] while the Toṇḍanūr record refers to an additional grant made in August 1729 (*Saumya, Bhādrapada*).[77] All these records close with an indication of the name and attainments of the composer (Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya), and with the signature of the king in Kannaḍa as *Śrī-Krishṇarājaḥ*. Excellent specimens of *kāvya* style as they are, these records, literary flourishes apart, are of considerable importance and value as sources for the reconstruction of the history of the early rulers of Mysore down to Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar I.

Kaḷale Vīrarāja.

In Vīrarājaiya of Kaḷale, Daḷavāi of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar during 1714-1724, we next find an accomplished scholar of the times, skilled in composing works in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannaḍa languages among others.[78] Early in his life he had been, we are told,[79] well trained and educated in poetical and dramatic lore, rhetoric, grammar, logic, and the sciences of medicine and archery. He was well-known also for his liberality and piety.[80] In his name has come down to us the

The Sakala-Vaidya-Samhita-Sārārṇava, c. 1714-1720.

75. See *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64, pp. 55-56 (Text), quoting from the *A. V. C.*, *C. Bi.*, etc.

76. *Ibid*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295, pp. 151-152 (Text), referring to an additional grant of three villages on the occasion of the birth of a son to Krishṇarāja, and recounting the latter's titles. Since one of these titles in this portion of the record (p. 152) echoes Krishṇarāja's victory over Siddōji-Ghōrpaḍe in 1724, the interpolation appears to have been made subsequent to that date, *i.e.*, about the same time as the additional grant. See also f.n. 22 and 57 *supra*.

77. *Ibid*, III (1) Sr. 64, l. 668.

78. *Āndhra-Va. Bhā.—Sabhā*, p. 347, and *Bhīshma.*, p. 130: *Gīrvāṇāndhra-Karṇāṭakādi nānā bhāshā kāvya rachanā chatura.*

79. *Sakala-Vaid. Sam.*, p. 4: *Eḷameyoḷ kāvya nāṭakālankāra vyākaraṇa tarkāyurvēda dhanurvēda muntāda samasta vidyangaḷam kaltu.*

80. See *Padminī-Pariṇaya* (of Channaiya), I, 29-34; *Āndhrā-Va. Bhā.—Sabhā.*, p. 348, and *Bhīshma.*, p. 131; also *M. A. R.*, 1923, No. 58 (1744).

Sakala-Vaidya-Samhitā-Sārārṇava (*Vīrarājōkti-Vilāsa*),[81] a compendium in Kannaḍa on medicine. Although the work is an undated one and there is nowhere any reference in it to Vīrarāja's connection with Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, it would seem from the text that it was written at a time when Vīrarāja had risen high in his lifetime as a member of the Kaḷale Family.[82] Further, as the Daḷavāi of Krishṇarāja, Vīrarāja, as we shall see, was also a patron of letters. We would not therefore be far wrong in fixing the work between *c.* 1714-1720, the period of Krishṇarāja's minority.[83] The introductory chapter in the treatise is written in a mixture of old and new Kannaḍa—poetry and prose.[84] It begins with invocations to Mahēśa, Paśchimaranga (Śrī-Ranganātha of Seringapatam) and Śrī-Rāma. Then we have verses in praise of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar and of Doḍḍaiya of Kaḷale (Daḷavāi of Chikkadēva and father of Vīrarāja). Next follows a picturesque account of the exploits of Daḷavāi Doḍḍaiya (Doḍḍēndra) over the Mahrattas under Dādaji, Jaitaji, Nimbāji and others, during the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (*i.e.*, *c.* April 1682)—by way of echoing the meritorious services rendered by the Kaḷale Family to the Mysore Royal House. Then Vīrarāja speaks of his own attainments and qualifications for writing a prose treatise (*ṭīku*) on Āyurvēda, indicating also the importance of the science and the scope of his work. The succeeding sections of the text deal with the preliminaries of the Āyurvēdic profession (such, for instance, as examination of the pulse, tongue and urine; the humours—*Prakriti-lakshaṇam*; physicians and patients; examination of diseases in general; conditions governing healthy life,

81. Pub. *Mys. Or. Lib. Kannaḍa Series*, No. 19 (Vol. I), Mysore, 1932.
82. *Sakala-Vaid. Sam.*, p. 10: *Kaḷaleya puravarādhīśvaranum . . . lōkamam tanna jasadim beḷaguva Śrī-Virarāja-bhūpālam vīrachisidam.*
83. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (III. 9), roughly fixing Vīrarāja in 1720.
84. *Vide* pp. 1-10; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, III. 9-11.

etc.),[85] and with the subject-matter proper, namely, treatment of diseases in their various forms.[86] This part of the work is written in colloquial Hosagannaḍa prose, occasionally interspersed by Telugu passages. The principal source of information for Vīrarāja is, as he tells us,[87] the *Mahāsamhita-dugdha-ratnākara.* Among ancient writers on Āyurvēda, he refers to Ātrēÿa-Muni and Trivikrama-Paṇḍitāchārya.[88] Among earlier texts he shows some acquaintance with the *Bhōjarāja-Samhite* and the *Vaidyakalpataru.*[89] There seems reason to believe that a considerable portion of Vīrarāja's treatise was written in collaboration with contemporary scholars in Āyurvēda.[90] The *Sakala-Vaidya-Samhitā-Sārārṇava* is primarily an Āyurvēdic text intended, as Vīrarāja himself tells us,[91] for popular benefit (*lōkahitārthavāgi*). The incidental references in it to the pedigree, etc., of Vīrarāja are, however, of some importance to us as bearing on the rise of the Kaḷale Family and the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam (1682). Vīrarāja has also immortalised himself by his *Āndhra-Vachana-Bhāratamu—Sabhā-Parvamu* (1731), in 120 chapters, and *Bhīshma-Parvamu,* in 117 chapters (including the *Bhagavad-Gītā* in 18 chapters)—a prose version of the great Epic in Telugu, of considerable charm and rare literary merit.[92] It begins with invocation to God Śrī-Vēṇugōpāla of the Lakshmīkāntasvāmi temple at Kaḷale.

The Āndhra-Vachana-Bhāratamu, 1731.

85. Pp. 11-63.
86. Pp. 63-425, dealing with 169 varieties of treatment for diseases from fever down to diabetes.
87. P. 4, v. 16.
88. See pp. 217, 349, 392 (in connection with consumption and diabetes, and preparation of pills), and 18, 24 (in connection with the humours and types of diseases).
89. See pp. 25, 257 and 394 (in connection with the efficacy of fasting, hiccough and special types of diabetes).
90. See pp. 4 (v. 16) and 10; also *Ibid. Kath.*, XI. 397. 91. P. 10.
92. Pub. by Mr. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M.A., L.T., Anantapur, 1928, 1936. The *Sabhā-Parvamu* was completed on *Sādhāraṇa, Māgha śu. 5 (see first verse on p. 346), which corresponds to January 31, 1731*

The colophons,[93] relating to the pedigree, etc., of Vīrarāja, are in the main similar to the references in the *Sakala-Vaidya-Samhitā-Sārārṇava*. The work bears the impress of Vīrarāja's individuality to a considerable extent, although it is by no means free from interpolations, particularly by one Tupākula Ananta-Bhūpāla, son of Krishṇa-Bhūpāla of Chandragiri.[94] Altogether a unique contribution to the Telugu literature of the early part of the eighteenth century.

Another writer of note during the period was Channaiya (*Chennayānka, Chennayāmātya*), household officer of Daḷavāi Vīrarājaiya and a protegè of the latter. He seems to have been a resident of Bēlūr, and refers to himself as the grandson of Channappaiya of Hoysaḷa-Kannaḍa-Kula and Gārgyasa-gōtra, a devotee of Śiva (*Śiva-pūjā niratanu*) and a disciple of Krishṇānanda-Guru.[95]

Channaiya.

Channaiya wrote a commentary in Kannaḍa on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*,[96] a work composed at the instance of Vīrarāja and with the consent of a scholar by name Venkaṭa-Krishṇārya of Āndhra-Vaṁśa and Kāśyapa-gōtra.[97] The commentary, as it has

Commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Padminī-Pariṇaya*, *c.* 1720 1724.

(see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 264). It was evidently a product of the period of Vīrarāja's retirement in Kaḷale (from 1724 onwards). From his reference to and description of the Chōḷa country in the work (see pp. 101-103), Vīrarāja seems to have, in his earlier years, accompanied his father Doḍḍaiya to the south during Daḷavāi Kumāraiya's expedition to Trichinopoly (1680-1682)—*Ante*, Vol. I, Ch. XI, for details. The *Bhīshma-Parvamu*, however, is undated, though it appears to have been completed subsequent to 1731. Mss. of both the *Parvams* in palm-leaf were first discovered by Mr. Venkatesam at Negapatam in April 1906 (see *Editorial Introduction* to the *Sabhā.*, p. iv).

93. See *Sabhā.*, pp. 347-348; *Bhīshma.*, pp. 130-131.

94. *Ibid*, p. 349; *Ibid*, p. 220. See also *Editorial Introduction* to the *Sabhā* (pp. vii-xi) and the *Bhīshma* (pp. vi-viii).

95. See his commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, ff. 1, and *Padminī-Pariṇaya*, I, 42-44.

96. Ms. No. 147—*P. L.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*

97. See col. to ch. and ff. 1: *Chennayānkanu . . . Venkaṭa-Krishṇāryā-bidhāna śāstrajnaranumatavididu . . . Śri-Vīrarājēndranim nēmisi . . . Kannaḍa bhāsheyim vistarisida . . . Bhagavad-Gītā vyākhyāna.*

come down to us, is incomplete and stops at the end of the fifteenth chapter. It begins with invocations to Gaṇēśa, Krishṇānanda-Guru and God Channakēśava of Bhāgyapura (? Bēlūr).[98] Then follows an introduction referring to Kaḷale Vīrarāja, Daḷavāi of the king of Mysore (Krishṇarāja), as the author's patron, and the circumstances under which the work came to be written. The commentary is a model of intelligible Hosagannaḍa prose style. Another work written by Channaiya at the instance of Daḷavāi Vīrarājaiya is the *Padminī-Pariṇaya*,[99] a Kannaḍa poem in three cantos and eighteen chapters, dealing with the marriage of God Śrī-Venkaṭēśa of Tirupati with Padmini as told in the *Varāha-Purāṇa* (*Vārāha-Purāṇada kathe*). Each chapter begins with invocations to Channakēśava and Lakshmi and praise of Śiva, Brahma and Gaṇēśa among other deities. The introductory chapter refers as usual to the rule of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore in Seringapatam, and contains details about the pedigree of the poet's patron (Daḷavāi Vīrarāja of Kaḷale), with particulars about the poet himself. The poem is written in the popular *Sāngatya* metre. Both the commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Padminī-Pariṇaya* are undated works. Yet, from internal evidence, they are assignable to *c.* 1720-1724, *i.e.*, the latter part of the period of office of Kaḷale Vīrarāja as Daḷavāi of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar. Both, again, help to indicate the ascendency of the Kaḷale Family in Mysore during Krishṇarāja's reign.

Chaluvāmbā.

Of perhaps greater interest to us is the circumstance that Chaluvāmbā of Kaḷale, one of the queen-consorts of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, was herself a cultured lady,

98. ff. 1: *Bhāgapura vara nivāsanāda Śrī-Chennakēśava.* Bhāgapura or Bhāgyapura here is perhaps identical with Bēlūr, whose presiding deity is Channakēśava. Bhāgyapura occurs also in the *Padminī-Pariṇaya* (ff. 89) of the same author. See also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, III. 12.

99. Ms. No. A. 115—*P.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, III. 12-14.

gifted with literary and poetical talents. She was a grand-daughter of Daḷavāi Doḍḍaiya of Kaḷale and daughter of Kānta-nripa,[100] identical with Chikka-Kāntaiya, younger brother of Daḷavāi Vīrarājaiya.[101] In her name has come down to us a prose version in Kannaḍa of the *Tulākāvērī-Māhātmya* (*c.* 1720),[102] also called *Chaluvāmbikā-Vāṇī-Vilāsa*, a work in thirty chapters, dealing with the merits of the birthplace of the river Cauvery as told in the *Āgnēya-Purāṇa*. The work begins with invocations to Krishṇa, Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa and Vēdānta-Guru, followed by the pedigree, etc., of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar and Chaluvāmbā. The text of the *Māhātmya* is written in colloquial Kannaḍa. There seems, however, reason to believe that a greater part of it was actually composed by a Śrī-Vaishṇava scholar by name Śrīnivāsa, son of Venkaṭārya of Maudgalya-gōtra, and passed in Chaluvāmbā's name.[103] Chaluvāmbā has also written the *Varanandī-Kalyāṇa* (*c.* 1725-1730),[104] a poem in seven chapters in the *Sāngatya* metre, describing the well-known traditional story of the marriage of Varanandi, daughter of the Pādshah of Delhi, with the deity Chaluvarāyasvāmi of Mēlkōṭe, during Śrī-Rāmānujāchāryar's time (12th cent.). The work begins with invocations to God Venkaṭēśa and Parakāla-Guru. The poetess speaks of it as an epic, written with the assent of the Parakāla-Guru in polished, pure and sweet Kannaḍa.[105] So direct

The Tulākāvērī-Māhātmya, c. 1720.

The Varanandī-Kalyāṇa, etc., *c.* 1725-1730.

100. See *Tulākāvērī-Māhātmya*, ff. 2; also Table XII.

101. See *Annals*, I. 159; also Table XIII.

102. Ms. No. 18-3-6—*P. L.*; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, III. 25.

103. See verse from a Ms. of the work, quoted in the *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, III. 25, f.n. 1.

104. Ms. No. 80—*P. L.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, III. 22-25.

105. See ff. 1 and 2, vv. 4-5: *Parakāla-Guruvanujneyoḷu . . . virachisi kṛtiya pēḷuvenu | Unnati vaḍedachchagannaḍadinivāta . . . varṇakadi.*

is her treatment of the subject that her personality and devotion to Vishṇu appear prominently throughout the poem. Included in the *Varanandī-Kalyāṇa* are songs by Chaluvāmbā in praise of the presiding deity of Tirupati.[106] Lucid and thoroughly intelligible, the works of Chaluvāmbā, as a whole, testify to the steady influence of Śrī-Vaishṇavism on the Mysore Royal Family during *c.* 1720-1730.

Other writers: Bālavaidyada-Chaluva.

Among other writers of the reign, Bālavaidyada-Chaluva, grandson of Rāmāvadhāni and son of Venkāvadhāni of Chiknāyakanahaḷḷi (*Chikkanāyakanapura*), wrote in Kannaḍa the *Ratna-Śāstra* (*c.* 1715)[107] at the instance of Venkaṭapati, junior accountant in the treasury of Krishṇarāja at Seringapatam. This is a poem in six parts of one hundred verses, composed in the *Vārdhika-shaṭpadi* metre. It begins with invocations to Gaṇēśa, Śārada and Channakēśava, and with details as to the poet's ancestry, etc. The *Ratna-Śāstra* treats in an interesting manner of the nine kinds of precious stones (*navaratna*), with reference, among others, to the names, find-places, species, merits and defects, and characteristics of artificial stones (*kṛtrimada ratunagaḷu*). It seems to testify to the wealth of the capital city during the early part of Krishṇarāja's reign. Another work written by Bālavaidyada-Chaluva is the *Kannaḍa-Līlāvati* (*c.* 1715-1720),[108] a poetical treatise in Kannaḍa, also in the *Vārdhika-shaṭpadi* metre, on arithmetic and mensuration. Rangaiya, a protegè of Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya, wrote, at the instance of the latter, the *Kāvēri-Māhātmya* (*c.*

The *Ratna-Śāstra* and the *Kannaḍa-Līlāvati*, *c.* 1715-1720.

Rangaiya. The *Kāvēri-Māhātmya*, *c.* 1730.

106. See ff. 170-218: *Venkaṭāchala-Māhātmye lāli pada, Ammanavara mēle lāli pada.*

107. Ms. No. B. 69—*P.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, III. 8-9.

108. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, III. 6-8.

1730),[109] a Kannaḍa poetical piece in the *Bhāminī-shaṭpadi* metre.

Domestic life: Queens, etc.

Dēvājamma, daughter of Chikke Urs of Kaḷale, was the principal queen of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, married to him in March 1716.[110] Krishṇarāja had also eight junior queen-consorts (*aṣṭa-mahishiyaru*), to whom he was wedded in November 1718.[111] Four of these latter belonged to the Kaḷale House, while the others came from the Arasu families of Mūgūr, Kottāgāla and Hullahaḷḷi.[112] The *Toṇḍanūr Copper-plate grant* (1722) mentions Dēvājamma as the senior queen of Krishṇarāja (*Dēvājammēti mahishī prathamā*) and refers to the eight royal queens of his (*aṣṭa-mahishyaḥ*), in the name of each of whom, we are told, he caused to be repaired the eight sacred pools of the Yadu mountain (Mēlkōṭe).[113] Chaluvāmbā (Chaluvājamma), daughter of Chikka-Kāntaiya of Kaḷale, appears to have been by far the most favourite consort of Krishṇarāja, and, as we have seen, figures prominently in literature. Krishṇarāja, however, had no children, the only male child born of his senior queen Dēvājamma having died in its infancy (at the end of six months).[114] Among other members of the Royal Family, Dēvīramma (Doḍḍamma) and Chaluvājamma, grandmother and mother respectively of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, lived on during the reign and were pious Vaishṇavites. The *Toṇḍanūr Plate* (1722) speaks of Krishṇarāja as having caused *agrahāras* to be established and Vaishṇava temples to be repaired in the names of these royal ladies;[115] the *Kanchi-maṭha Charter* (1724), elsewhere referred to, alludes to their gifts to God

109. *Ibid*, 37-38.
110. *Annals*, I. 159; see also and compare *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 488-489.
111. *Ibid.* 112. *Ibid.* 113. *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 165-168.
114. *Annals*, l.c. It must be this child whose birth is referred to in the *Kaḷale Copper-plate grant* (see f.n. 57 and 76 *supra*).
115. *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 170-172.

Varadarāja of Kānchi.[116] Another important member of the Royal Family who lived during the reign was Kempadēvājamma (Dēvājamma), daughter of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar and aunt of Krishṇarāja. A lithic record, dated October 17, 1718,[117] registers a gift by her of a new car for the festival of God Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa at Talakāḍ. From the point of view of domestic life, it is interesting to learn that on August 5, 1717, Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar issued a *nirūpa* to the members of the eighteen Arasu families, permitting them to enter into matrimonial relations with the family of Channarāja of Salem, a descendant of Timmarāja of Gaṇaganūr.[118] This was obviously in pursuance of the earlier legislation of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar relating to the Arasu families, which was maintained intact.

Death of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar, March 5, 1732.

Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar passed away on March 5, 1732,[119] in his thirtieth year, his queens not observing *sati*.[120]

Reflections.

Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar was, as he appears from the materials available to us, a pious, humane and tolerant ruler, a staunch Śrī-Vaishṇava and a liberal patron of arts and letters.[121] Yet, dominated as he had been by

116. *Ibid*, Sr. 100, ll. 146-149. The reference to "*namma ammanavaru Chaluvājammanavaru Dēvirammanavarugaḷu*" here is to the mother and grandmother of Krishṇarāja I in the light of Sr. 64 (l.c.). Rice's interpretation of the passage as referring to Krishṇarāja's own grandmother Dēvājamāmbā, his junior grandmother Dēvīramma and his mother Chaluvājamāmbā [see *E.C.*, III (1), p. 29, translation] does not seem to be in keeping with the text.

117. *Ibid*, TN. 18 : *Viḷambi, Kārtīka śu.* 5, Friday.

118. *Annals*, I. 163; cf. *Wilks*, I. Preface, p. xxiv.

119. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 36 : *Virōdhikṛit, Phālguṇa ba.* 5, Sunday ; also *Annals*, I. 164, and *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 489. Wilks (I. 251) places the accession of Chāmarāja (successor of Krishṇarāja) in 1731, tacitly assuming Krishṇarāja's death in that year; S. K. Aiyangar (*o.c.*, p. 307) also adopts the same date. This assumption, however, requires revision.

120. *Annals*, l.c.

121. *The Mys. Rāj. Cha.* (l.c.) and the *Annals* (I. 162), in particular, speak of Krishṇarāja's solicitude alike towards his subjects and beasts

the powerful interests of the Kaḷale Family both during and after his minòrity, his reign saw the definite beginnings of decline in the power of the central authority and the rise to prominence of his relations and trusted councillors (the *Daḷavāi* and the *Sarvādhikāri*) as active elements in the administration of Mysore.[122] The kingdom of Mysore under him, it has to be set down to his credit, continued to retain much of its vitality and vigour, although it had begun to feel the effects of the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire.

and birds under his protection. The *Toṇḍanūr Copper-plate grant* (1722) refers in eloquent terms to Krishṇarāja's gifts and acts of charity, and tells us that while he ruled, "all his subjects receive good food, handsome raiment, perfumes, golden ornaments and *chāmaras*, etc." [*E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 152-156.] Cf. *Wilks*, I. 251.

122. Cf. *Wilks*, l.c. His observations on, and characterization of, Krishṇarāja are rather overdrawn and not borne out by the materials on record.